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# Racial Disparities among Female Juvenile Offenders:

## The Contribution of Neighborhood Disadvantage and Exposure to Violence in Antisocial Behavior

**Preeti Chauhan, Mandi L. Burnette, & N. Dickon Reppucci**

Significant racial disparities exist within the juvenile justice system.[1] Across age and gender, black and minority Americans are disproportionately represented within the justice system as compared to white Americans.[2] In examining issues related to disproportionate minority contact, research has historically focused almost exclusively on males, given their greater presence in the system. However, the representation of females in the juvenile justice system is rising.[3] For instance, from 1980 to 2003, the proportion of girls under the age of 18 who were arrested increased for both the Violent Crime Index (i.e., aggravated assault, rape, robbery, and murder) and the Property Crime Index (i.e., larceny, motor vehicle theft, arson, and burglary).[4] Hence, as the gender gap in arrest rates continues to decrease and the overrepresentation of minorities persists, it becomes important to consider two crucial questions: 1) Are black and white female juvenile offenders different in terms of their risk profiles? and 2) Do these risk profiles differentiate the pathways by which these two groups of girls reengage in antisocial behavior? [5]

This article summarizes the prevalence and function of neighborhood- and individual-level risk factors for antisocial behavior among black and white female juvenile offenders from the Gender and Aggression Project (GAP)—Virginia Site, which consisted of a sample of incarcerated girls followed into the community. Specifically, we examined the prevalence of the following risk factors: 1) *absolute* neighborhood disadvantage, defined as the percentage of female-headed households, people on public assistance, people below the poverty line, and people unemployed using census data at tract level, 2) *relative* disadvantage, defined as the amount of income inequality within a given census tract,[6] 3) physical victimization by parents and/or peers, and 4) witnessing criminality and violence within the environment. We next determined whether racial differences existed with regard to these risk factor—that is, are black versus white female offenders more likely to have grown up in disadvantaged neighborhoods and/or to have witnessed violence within their surroundings. Finally, we assessed whether these risk factors operated differently by race. In other words, we wanted to know whether specific risk factors—such as growing up in a disadvantaged neighborhood—were more predictive of antisocial behavior for black versus white girls. These findings have the potential to lead to a better understanding of the discrepant representation of minorities in the judicial system and provide an opportunity to tailor interventions and reentry programs to divergent population needs.

### SELF-REPORT VERSUS OFFICIAL REPORTS OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR

The study of antisocial behavior is complex, and adding further ambiguity is the fact that differences often exist depending on the source of data. Two primary sources exist for assessment of antisocial behavior: self-reported behavior and official records of offending. A significant body of research examining the merits of each of these measurement methods exists. Using both indicators is ideal as each provides unique information. However, the decision as to which indicator is actually used is often informed by: 1) the specific research question (i.e., whether the outcome of interest is getting "caught"

**Footnotes**

1. David Huizinga, Terence Thornberry, Kelly Knight, & Peter, Lovegroove, Disproportionate Minority Contact in the Juvenile Justice System: A Study of Differential Minority Arrest/Referral To Court in Three Cities (U.S. Dep't of Justice) (2007), *available at* http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/grants/219743.pdf); Charles Puzzanchera, Anne L. Stahl, Terrence A. Finnegan, Nancy Tierney, & Howard N. Snyder, Juvenile Court Statistics 1998 (Off. Juv. Just. & Delinq. Prevention) (2003); Richard E. Redding & Bruce Arrigo, *Multicultural Perspectives on Delinquency among African-American Youth: Etiology and Intervention*, *in* Comprehensive Handbook of Multicultural School of Psychology 710 (C. Frisby & C. Reynolds eds., 2005).
2. Johnathan L. Blitstein, David M. Murry, Leslie A. Lytle, Amanda S. Birnbaum, & Cheryl L. Perry, *Predictors of Violent Behavior in an Early Adolescent Cohort: Similarities and Differences Across Genders*, 32 Health Educ. & Behav. 175 (2005); Alex R.Piquero & Stephen L. Buka, *Linking Juvenile and Adult Patterns of Criminal Activity in the Providence Cohort of National Collaborative Perinatal Project*, 30 J. of Criminal Justice 259 (2002).
3. Howard N. Synder & Melissa Sickmund, Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 2006 National Report (Off. Juv. Just. & Delinq. Prevention, U.S. Dep't. Just.) (2006), *available at* http://ojjdp.ncjrs.org/ojstatbb/nr2006/index.html.
4. From 1980 to 2003, the proportion of girls increased from 10% to 18% for the Violent Crime Index, with the majority of it being attributed to aggravated assault. For the Property Crime Index, the proportion of girls increased from 19% to 32%.
5. We were unable to examine racial differences with regard to other minorities given the relatively smaller numbers. Nineteen girls were of other ethnicities including Native American, Hispanic, and Other. Black girls constituted 69 girls from our sample, whereas white girls constituted 53.
6. Note that criminologist and sociologists often refer to income inequality as relative deprivation.

versus actually engaging in an antisocial act), 2) logistic constraints (i.e., access to either or both forms of information), and 3) methodological constraints (i.e., is self-report of offending accurate? (How often do police catch the person committing the antisocial behavior?). Some evidence suggests that risk factors such as neighborhood disadvantage and family processes operate similarly for both outcomes—self-report of offending and official records.[7] The analyses presented below examine data from both sources.

## DOES NEIGHBORHOOD DISADVANTAGE CONTRIBUTE TO RACIAL DISPARITIES IN FEMALE ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR?

Research has found that neighborhood disadvantage, or *absolute* disadvantage, explains a significant portion of the racial disparity observed in antisocial behavior.[8] That is, the racial gap in offending is believed to be propelled by three salient factors: 1) black versus white Americans are more likely to inhabit disadvantaged neighborhoods that have higher rates of crimes,[9] 2) black Americans are less able to leave high-crime neighborhoods compared to their white counterparts,[10] and 3) low-income white families rarely live in the same level of disadvantage as black families.[11]

Other research has found that *relative* disadvantage or income inequality predicts antisocial behavior.[12] Theoretically, income inequality can create frustration and promote interpersonal competition for limited material and social resources, which in turn drives antisocial behavior. Hence, the higher rates of antisocial behavior among black Americans may be due to social comparison in income inequality rather than *absolute* disadvantage. The impact of both types of neighborhood factors on racial disparities in antisocial behavior has been demonstrated empirically: 1) at a macro-level or population level using census data and official crime reports and/or 2) at a micro-level or individual level within high-risk populations, specifically adults, boys, and psychiatric inpatients.

*Does this male-based research translate to female juvenile offenders?* For both boys and girls, the impact of neighborhood factors is rather small in magnitude *after accounting for individual-level risk factors* such as age and family structure.[13] Similar to boys, girls who live in disadvantaged neighborhoods are subjected to greater risks such as exposure to violence and deviant peers as compared to girls in advantaged neighborhoods.[14] However, it has been argued that the impact of certain neighborhood factors likely differs for males and females given that girls present with a different risk profile such as differences in age of onset, levels of familial aggression, and gang involvement.[15] Hence, the *pathway* between neighborhood disadvantage and female antisocial behavior may be different for girls as compared to boys.

## IS EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE AN IMPORTANT RISK FACTOR FOR FEMALE ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR?

Experiencing and witnessing violence are particularly relevant for female juvenile offenders because rates of exposure are extremely high among incarcerated girls[16] and linked with antisocial behavior.[17] With regard to racial differences, in non-incarcerated samples, Black Americans are more likely to both

7. David S. Kirk, *Examining the Divergence across Self-Report and Official Data Sources on Inferences about the Adolescent Life-Course of Crime,* 22 J. QUANTITATIVE CRIMINOLOGY 107 (2006).
8. Robert J. Sampson, Jeffrey D. Morenoff, J & Stephen, Raudenbush, *Social Anatomy of Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Violence*, 95 AM. J. PUB. HEALTH 224 (2005) (study found that approximately 60% to 70% of the racial disparities in antisocial behavior can be explained by neighborhood-level factors).
9. Ruth D. Peterson, & Lauren J. Krivo, *Macrostructural Analyses of Race, Ethnicity and Violent Crime: Recent Lessons and New Directions for Research.* 31 ANN. REV. SOC. 331 (2005); Robert J. Sampson, *The Embeddedness of Child and Adolescent Development: A Community-Level Perspective on Urban Violence*, *in* VIOLENCE & CHILDHOOD IN THE INNER CITY 31 (Joan McCord ed., 1997).
10. Scott J. South & Steven F. Messner, *Crime and Demography: Multiple Linkages, Reciprocal Relations,* 26 ANN. REV. SOCIOLOGY 83 (2000).
11. Greg J. Duncan, Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, & Pamela K. Klevanov, *Economic Deprivation and Early Childhood Development,* 65 CHILD DEV. 296 (1994); Faith Peeples & Rolf Loeber, *Do Individual Factors and Neighborhood Context Explain Ethnic Differences in Juvenile Delinquency?*, 10 J. QUANTITATIVE CRIMINOLOGY 141 (1994).
12. Martin Daly, Margo Wilson, & Shawn Vasdev, *Income Inequality and Homicide Rates in Canada and the United States*, 43 CAN. J. CRIMINOLOGY 219 (2001); Miles D. Harrer & Darrell Steffensmeier, *The Differing Effects of Economic Inequality on Black and White Rates of Violence*, 70 SOC. FORCES 1035 (1992); John R. Hipp, *Income Inequality, Race, and Place: Does the Distribution of Race and Class Within Neighborhoods Affect Crime Rates?*, 45 CRIMINOLOGY 665 (2007).
13. Leionik Kroneman, Rolf Loeber, & Allison E. Hipwell, *Is Neighborhood Context Differently Related to Externalizing Problems and Delinquency for Girls Compared to Boys?* 7 CLINICAL CHILD & FAM. PSYCHOL. REV. 109 (2004); Tama Leventhal & Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, *The Neighborhood They Live In: The Effects of Neighborhood Residence on Child and Adolescent Outcomes.* 12 PSYCHOL. BULL. 309 (2000).
14. Erin M. Ingoldsby & Daniel S. Shaw, *Neighborhood Contextual Factors and Early-Starting Antisocial Pathways.* 5 CLINICAL CHILD & FAM. PSYCHOL. REV. 21 (2002).
15. Kroneman et al., *supra* note 13.
16. Candice L. Odgers & N. Dickon Reppucci, Female Young Offenders: A Meta-Analytic Approach, paper presented at the Vancouver Conference on Aggressive and Violent Girls: Contributing Factors and Intervention Strategies (2002). In their review of the literature on female juvenile offenders, Odgers and her colleagues found estimates of experiencing violence to be as high as 90% in some samples. *See also* Angela Dixon, Pauline Howie, & Jean Starling, *Psychopathology in Female Juvenile Offenders,* 45 J. CHILD PSYCHOL. & PSYCHIATRY 1150 (2004).
17. Nancy Guerra, L. Rowell Huesmann, & Anja Spindler, *Community Violence Exposure, Social Cognition, and Aggression among Urban Elementary School Children*, 74 CHILD DEV. 1561 (2003); Beth E. Molnar, Angela Browne, Magdalena Cerda, & Stephen L. Buka, *Violent Behavior by Girls Reporting Violent Victimization.* 159 PEDIATRICS & ADOLESCENT MED. 731 (2005); Cathy S. Widom, *Child Abuse, Neglect, and Adult Behavior: Research Design Findings on Criminality, Violence and Child Abuse,* 59 AM. J. ORTHOPSYCHIATRY 355 (1989).

experience and witness violence. Evidence is mixed as to whether these risk factors have a greater influence on antisocial behavior among black Americans. However, when racial differences are observed, black Americans experience more detrimental outcomes.[18] Hence, witnessing and experiencing violence may help to explain some of the reasons for the disproportionate representation of black Americans in the justice system at an individual (versus a neighborhood) level.

### DO BLACK AND WHITE FEMALE JUVENILE OFFENDERS DIFFER IN TERMS OF THEIR RISK PROFILES OF NEIGHBORHOOD DISADVANTAGE AND EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE?

*Findings from our research team indicated that black female juvenile offenders are more likely to live in disadvantaged neighborhoods at an absolute and relative level as compared to white female juvenile offenders.* As stated, *absolute* and *relative* neighborhood disadvantage was assessed using census data at a tract level. Census tracts average about 4,000 people, have relatively homogenous characteristics, and are defined by significant physical boundaries such as rivers and major streets. We used four indicators for *absolute* disadvantage: 1) percentage of people below the poverty line, 2) percentage of households on public assistance, 3) percentage of female-headed households, and 4) percentage of people unemployed. For *relative* disadvantage, we created the Gini index to measure income inequality. This index was calculated by examining household income distribution within each census tract. A score of zero indicates that all households have similar incomes and one indicates that income is disparate. Black girls lived in more disadvantaged neighborhoods than their white counterparts with respect to all four indicators of *absolute* disadvantage. That is, they lived in neighborhoods that had higher percentages of female-headed households, people unemployed, households on public assistance, and people below the poverty line. Similarly, black girls were also more likely to live in *relatively* disadvantaged neighborhoods as compared to white girls. As such, this suggests that their neighborhood had greater income disparity and were more heterogeneous, with regard to income, as compared to white girls.

*High rates of exposure to violence were present among both black and white female juvenile offenders.* With regard to experiencing violence, we asked girls whether a father, mother, friend, or romantic partner had: 1) pushed, grabbed, or shoved her in an argument; 2) threw something at her; 3) slapped, kicked, bit, or hit her with a fist; and/or 4) hit her with an object in the six months before incarceration. As illustrated in Table 1, the majority of girls experienced some form of violence by her parents (65%) and by her peers (75%). Black and white girls reported experiencing similar levels of violence by both parents and peers.[19] Experiencing violence by fathers was less prevalent than by mothers, but this is likely a function of high rates of father absence within the girls' families.

With regard to witnessing violence, we asked girls if she saw the following, six months before incarceration, in her home, school, and/or neighborhood: 1) someone getting beat up, 2) somebody getting stabbed or shot, 3) guns, 4) guns being shot, 5) somebody getting arrested, and 6) gang activity. Nearly all girls (98%) reported witnessing violence; estimates were lower for violence at home (66%) compared to school (94%) and neighborhood (94%). This highlights the substantial violence and criminality that these girls witness within multiple contexts. Black and white girls reported similar levels of witnessing violence.

### ARE BLACK AND WHITE FEMALE JUVENILE OFFENDERS DIFFERENT WITH REGARD TO POST-RELEASE SELF-REPORT AND OFFICIAL RECORDS OF OFFENDING?

*There were no racial differences in self-report of offending, but black girls had higher official reports of offending.* With regard to self-report of offending, we asked each girl if she had engaged in violent behaviors since her release. These behaviors included: 1) carried a gun, 2) used a weapon to get money or things from people, 3) used a weapon (stick, knife, gun, rocks) while fighting with another person, 4) participated in gang activity, 5) been in a fistfight, 6) attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing that person, and 7) shot at someone. We also asked if she had engaged in the following delinquent behaviors since her release: 1) driven while drunk or high, 2) sold marijuana, pot, or hashish, 3) sold hard drugs (other than pot), such as heroin, cocaine, acid, or others, 4) broken or tried to break into a building or vehicle to steal something, 5) stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle such as a car or a motorcycle to keep or sell, and 6) been paid to have sexual relations with someone

As Table 1 illustrates, after release, the majority of girls (60%) continued to engage in antisocial behavior with about half (54%) engaging in violent behaviors and a third engaging in delinquent behaviors (31%). Black and white girls reported approximately equivalent levels of antisocial behavior after release.

About half of the girls were rearrested with more having charges for nonviolent offenses than for violent offenses. Violent arrest charges included murder, assault and battery, and robbery. Nonviolent arrest charges included driving while under the influence, grand larceny, and breaking and entering. According to official records, black girls were more likely that white girls to be rearrested; this was true for nonviolent but not violent crimes.

18. Diana J. English, Cathy Spatz-Widom, & Carol Brandford, Childhood Victimization and Delinquency, Adult Criminality and Violent Criminal Behavior: A Replication and Extension, (final report submitted to U.S. Nat'l Inst. Just.) (2001), *available at* http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/192291.pdf; Matthew T. Zingraff, Jeffrey Leiter, Kristen A. Meyers, & Matthew C. Johnsen, *Child Maltreatment and Youthful Problem Behavior*, 31 Criminology 173 (1993).
19. The differences in exposure to violence (both experiencing and witnessing violence) were statistically analyzed at a continuous level even though only categorical data are presented.

| TABLE 1: EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE AND POST-RELEASE ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR AMONG BLACK AND WHITE JUVENILE OFFENDERS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | TOTAL | BLACK | WHITE |
| EXPERIENCED VICTIMIZATION | | | |
| By Parents | 65% | 70% | 59% |
| • Father | 39% | 33% | 47% |
| • Mother | 56% | 62% | 48% |
| Peers | 75% | 77% | 72% |
| • Friends | 64% | 62% | 65% |
| • Romantic Partners | 55% | 62% | 46% |
| | | | |
| WITNESSED VIOLENCE | | | |
| • All context | 98% | 98% | 98% |
| • Home | 55% | 53% | 58% |
| • School | 94% | 94% | 94% |
| • Community | 94% | 95% | 92% |
| | | | |
| SELF-REPORT OF OFFENDING | | | |
| • Total | 60% | 61% | 61% |
| • Violent Behaviors | 53% | 55% | 51% |
| • Delinquent Behaviors | 31% | 28% | 35% |
| | | | |
| OFFICIAL RECORDS OF OFFENDING | | | |
| • Rearrested | 52% | 66% | 34% |
| • Nonviolent Charge | 22% | 27% | 16% |
| • Violent Charge | 30% | 39% | 18% |

## DO RISK FACTORS DIFFERENTIATE THE PATHWAY TO ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR AMONG BLACK VERSUS WHITE FEMALE JUVENILE OFFENDERS?[20]

After release, according to self-report of antisocial behavior, witnessing violence was associated with delinquent behaviors and experiencing violence by parents was related to violent behaviors. When breaking this down by race, experiencing violence by parents was associated with violent behavior for white girls but not for black girls. On the other hand, witnessing violence was associated with violent and delinquent behaviors for black girls but not white girls. A similar pattern emerged with regard to official records of reoffending. Hence, even though both groups experienced similar levels of these risk factors, witnessing and experiencing violence played a different role in terms of their ability to predict reoffending. It may be that black girls who return to disadvantaged neighborhoods may continue to witness violence and have "access to" antisocial behavior more readily and regularly than white girls who live in less disadvantaged neighborhoods. Furthermore, for those living in disadvantaged neighborhoods, coercive and even aggressive parenting may be used as a method to keep girls at home and out of trouble and may not necessarily translate to the same negative outcomes for white girls. [21]

For the group as a whole, *absolute* neighborhood disadvantage was related to official records of offending, but not self-reported antisocial behavior. The association between neighborhood disadvantage and rearrest was stronger for black girls. Furthermore, *relative* neighborhood disadvantage, or higher level of income inequality, was not associated with reoffending for either group.

20. For more detailed results, *see* Preeti Chauhan & N. Dickon Reppucci, *The Impact of Neighborhood Disadvantage and Exposure to Violence on Self Report of Antisocial Behavior among Girls in the Juvenile Justice System, 38,* J. YOUTH & ADOLESCENCE 401 (2009); Preeti Chauhan, N. Dickon Reppucci, & Eric Turkheimer, *Racial Differences on the Associations of Neighborhood Disadvantage, Violence Exposure and Criminal Recidivism among Female Juvenile Offenders,* 24 BEHAV. SCI. & L. 531 (2009).
21. Previous research has found that corrective parenting may be used in more disadvantaged neighborhoods to protect children and that stronger forms of physical discipline among black families do not necessarily translate to negative outcomes. Sara V. Dixon, Julia A. Graber, & Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, *The Role of Respect for Parental Authority and Parenting Practices in Parent-Child Conflict among African American, Latino, and European American Families,* 22 J. FAM. PSYCHOL. 1 (2008); Patrick H. Tolan, Deborah Gorman-Smith, & David B. Henry, *The Development of Ecology of Urban Males' Youth Violence, 39,* DEV. PSYCHOL. 274 (2003).

## LIVING IN A DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBORHOOD INCREASED THE ODDS OF OFFICIAL ARREST FOR NONVIOLENT CRIMES BY TENFOLD[22]

As noted, black girls were more likely to be rearrested, particularly for nonviolent crimes, compared to white girls. However, once neighborhood disadvantage was added to the equation, race was no longer predictive of nonviolent rearrest. That is, being black mattered less than living in a disadvantaged neighborhood. In fact, living in a disadvantaged neighborhood increased the odds of being rearrested for a noviolent crime by about tenfold. This suggests that the high rearrest rates among black girls are related to factors within their neighborhood as opposed to higher engagement in antisocial behavior. It further indicates that factors within their neighborhoods such as heavy policing and differential surveillance could be playing a strong role in whether the girls are getting caught for their antisocial behavior, but not whether they are actually engaging in antisocial behavior.

## IMPLICATIONS

Because of the pronounced racial disparities observed in offending statistics and the relative lack of information available on female offenders, we explored whether racial differences existed in the impact of neighborhood characteristics and exposure to violence among black and white girls. Similar to results on boys and adults, we observed a racial disparity in official offending statistics. However, this higher involvement in antisocial behavior was not reflected in self-reported antisocial behavior among these girls. Given that behaviors were equivalent across race, differences in rearrest rates may stem from the way the justice system monitors or processes antisocial behavior among black versus white girls. This finding suggests that there are likely systemic biases that exist within the broader society that contribute to the overrepresentation of minorities in the justice system, perhaps particularly with nonviolent crimes. One possibility is that the higher rates of rearrest for black girls may be due to other community-level factors such as higher police surveillance and willingness by police to arrest individuals in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Interestingly, the concept of relative disadvantage was not associated with antisocial behavior and may be less relevant for females in general. While research has generally found a robust relationship between income inequality and violence using official statistics and crime data, no studies have examined whether this concept applies to both men and women. From an evolutionary perspective, relative disadvantage may be a stronger predictor for male antisocial behavior because men may be more influenced by social status and social hierarchy.

Regardless of racial differences in neighborhoods, there were equivalent and high levels of exposure to violence by both groups. This further confirms that girls in the juvenile justice system experience high levels of adverse experiences across relationships and contexts, highlighting the need for rehabilitation programs. Indeed, victimization was virtually universal among this group, and girls in deprived neighborhoods are not experiencing additional victimization.

Our work further indicates that pathways to antisocial behavior may differ by race. For white girls, we found experiencing violence by parents emerged as a more potent risk factor for both forms of antisocial behavior even though the overall prevalence was equivalent for the two groups. This would suggest an increased importance of what the girls personally experience rather than what is going on in their environment. Witnessing violence, especially in the community, emerged as a potent risk factor for both forms of antisocial behavior among black girls. Even though girls are personally witnessing this violence, the results suggests the added importance of community factors in the maintenance of antisocial behavior among black girls.

These findings have strong implications with regard to addressing the issue of racial disparities and antisocial behavior within the juvenile justice system. Traditional mental health treatment, while necessary, operates at an individual level and is perhaps best suited to address individual-level problems (e.g., child abuse, psychopathology). However, our data suggest that to reduce racial disparities in antisocial behavior, particularly among black girls, more needs to be done within their communities to address the global phenomenon of poverty and the disadvantages that accompany this issue (e.g., community violence).

For instance, community programs and after-school programs using a positive youth development model that serves all youth (rather than just deviant youth) can provide these youths with an opportunity to learn skills and interact with positive adults and nondeviant peers.[23] High-structure, close supervision programs can prevent youth from associating with deviant peers and witnessing violence and redirect them to more prosocial activities. Community-level improvements such as the YMCA, community centers, and boys and girls clubs where youth can congregate with adult supervision would also be beneficial toward achieving these goals.

Enhancing community surveillance, such as neighborhood watch programs, while promoting neighborhood cohesion may also be beneficial in reducing community violence. This would both reduce the violence witnessed by community members and reduce opportunity to participate in violence by more deviant individuals. Using churches, schools, and other community settings as meeting places for discussing concerns within the neighborhoods can help to foster neighborhood cohesion.

In sum, race encompasses a complex sociocultural phe-

22. Preeti Chauhan, N. Dickon Reppucci, Mandi L. Burnette, & Scott Reiner, *Race, Neighborhood Disadvantage, and Antisocial Behavior among Female Juvenile Offenders*, 38 J. COMMUNITY PSYCHOL. 532 (2010).
23. Kenneth A. Dodge, Thomas J. Dishion & Jennifer Lansford, *Deviant Peer Influences in Intervention and Public Policy for Youth*, 20 SOC. POL'Y REP. FOR SOC'Y FOR RES. IN CHILD DEV. 3 (2006), *available at* http://www.srcd.org/documents/publications/SPR/spr20-1.pdf.

nomenon. Race-specific processes that occur at both a neighborhood and a personal level are functioning to differentiate the pathways by which these girls reenter the justice system and engage in violent behaviors. To address issues related to racial disparities in antisocial behaviors, policies must be evaluated and implemented at the community level.

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*Mandi L. Burnette, Ph.D., is an Assistant Professor at the University of Rochester in the Department of Clinical and Social Sciences in Psychology. She conducts research examining how early experiences such as maltreatment contribute to the development of antisocial behaviors (e.g., aggression, substance abuse, prostitution) and other forms of psychopathology (e.g., personality disorders, posttraumatic stress disorder), among female populations. Her research aims to have theoretical and practical applications, with an ultimate goal of informing interventions for women and girls.*

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